

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 OMB-01 IO-13 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 AID-05  
EB-08 /126 W  
-----018385 041506Z /45 14

R 011445Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 898  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY SANA  
COMIDEATTFOR  
CINCUSNAVEUR  
CINCPAC  
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L DJIBOUTI 618

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINR, PDEV, DJ, SO, ET  
SUBJ: SOMALI REFLECTIONS ON SUBVERSION IN DJIBOUTI

REF: MOGADISCIO 908 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. REPORTS OF ETHIOPIAN SUBVERSION IN DJIBOUOI REFLECT  
THEIR CONCERN AT CONTINUING RAPPROCHEMENT EFFORTS BETWEEN  
DJIBOUTI AND ETHIOPIA FOLLOWING END ON OGADEN CONFLICT.  
AT THE SAME TIME SOMALI SUBVERSIVE EFFORTS SEEM TO RIDE ON  
INCREASZD COMMERCIAL PENETRATION. IN THE MEANTIME, DJIBOUTI  
POLITICAL FIGURES ATTEMPT TO PROFIT FROM THE ATTENTIONS PROVIDED  
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BY THEIR NEIGHBORS, GIVING RISE TO A NUMBER OF INVESTMENTS  
MADE MORE FOR POLITICAL RATHER THAN ECONOMIC CRITERIA.M

2. THE REPORT FROM NSS CHIEF AHMED SULEIMAN (REFTEL) INDICATING  
HIS CONCERN ABOUT ETHIOPIAN "SUBVERSION" IN DJIBOUTI GNANNOT BE  
COMPLETELY DISCARDED. HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES REMAIN THE  
UNDISPPUTED MASTERS IN THE AREA OF SUBVERSION IN DJIBOUTI,

ALTHOUGH IT IS LIKELY THAT THEY HAVE LOST SOME OF THEIR LEAD SINCE THE END OF THE OGADEN DEBACLE. PERHAPS INDICATING NEW FREEDOM SINCE THEIR SUPPOSED DISAFFECTION WITH THE SOVIETS, THE NSS ARE USING A DISTINCTIVE NEW WEAPON IN THEIR COMPETITION WITH THE ETHIOPIANS IN DJIBOUTI: POLITICALLY-INSPIRED CAPITALISM. AS DEPARTMENT INFORMED AT THE TIME, THE SOMALI DEVELOPMENT BANK'S FINANCING OF THE PURCHASE OF THE SIESTA, DJIBOUTI'S BEST HOTEL, FOR SAAD WARSAMA LAST SEPTEMBER WAS CONSIDERED A TOUR DE FORCE. THEY HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY STEPPED UP THEIR PURCHASING OF BUSINESSES IN DJIBOUTI WITH THE AS-YET UNCONFIRMED BACKING OF MINISTER OF INTERIOR MOUMIN BAHDON IN PURCHASE OF THE RUN-DOWN HOTEL CONTINENTAL ON DJIBOUTI'S SHABBY DOWNTOWN MEMELPK SQUARE, THE PURCHASE OF DJIBOUTI'S REMAINING BOOKSTORE, LIBRARIE KOUROUS, BY AN UNKNOWN FACTOR, AND MONEY FOR DJIBOUTI'S MAYOR IDRIS DOUDOUB TO PURCHASE AN OPEN AIR RESTAURANT IN THE AMBOULI AREA OF DJIBOUTI. THE SUMS ADVANCED ARE APPRECIABLE : ABOUT DLS 800 THOUSAND FOR THE SIESTA; AN ESTIMATED DLS 340 THOUSAND FOR THE CONTINENTAL.

3. THE CONTINUING CAMPAIGN BY SOMALI SOURCES, IN STEP WITH THE NSS, TO PURCHASE DJIBOUTI COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES IS THE DESPAIR OF MOST AFAR LEADERS. AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, PRIME MINISTER ABDALLAH KAMIL IS PARTICULARLY UPSET AT THIS BRAZEN BUT APPARENTLY UNTOUCHABLE INTRODUCTION OF SOMALI INFLUENCE. SOME OPPORTUNITIES MAY REMAIN TO REDRESS THE BALANCE. IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, THERE HAVE BEEN RUMORS  
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THAT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT WARSAMA WAS TIRING OF HIS PART-TIME ROLE OF HOTEL KEEPER, ALLEGEDLY BECAUSE THE SOMALI INVESTMENT BANK WAS PRESSING HIM FOR REPAYMENTS OF THE LOAN PROVIDED FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE HOTEL. HE THREATENED ON TWO OCCASIONS TO RESIGN FROM HIS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY POSITION AS PROTEST AGAINST SOMALI PRESSURE, BUT HIS RESIGNATIONS WERE REJECTED BY THE PRESIDENT. ACCORDING TO A SOURCE CLOSE TO ABDALLAH KAMIL, THERE IS SOME CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO USING SOME OF THE FUNDS PROVIDED BY SAUDI ARABIA AT INDEPENDENCE TO PURCHASE THE HOTEL SIESTA FROM SAAD WARSAMA AND PUTTING IT UNDER A PROFESSIONAL MANAGER HIRED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF DJIBOUTI.

4. IN THE MEANTIME, THE SPECIFIC ACCUSATIONS MADE BY NSS CHIEF AHMED SULEIMAN MAY HAVE ENOUGH ELEMENTS OF TRUTH IN THEM TO GIVE THE SOMALIS SOME DISCOMFORT. THE CHARGE THAT PROSTITUTES OF ETHIOPIAN ORIGIN SERVE AS INTELLIGENCE AGENTS IS AN OLD ONE; HOWEVER, THE 8000 OR SO PROSTITUTES IN DJIBOUTI ARE DIVIDED ABOUT EQUALLY BETWEEN THOSE OF SOMALI AND ETHIOPIAN ORIGIN, AND PRESUMEDLY THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUBVERSION FOR BOTH NEIGHBORING STATES SHOULD BE ABOUT EQUAL. THE "ONE THOUSAND ETHIOPIANS IN DJIBOUTI" PREPARING SUBVERSION MAY REFER TO THE FACT THAT ABDALLAH KAMIL IS SERIOUSLY ENDEAVORING TO INTEGRATE

ONE THOUSAND AFARS INTO THE NATIONAL ARMY. THE COINCIDENCE IN FIGURES MAY NOT BE A MISTAKE. SO FAR AS THE SOMALIS ARE CONCERNED, ANY EFFORT TO BRING BALANCE TO THE ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE ARMY IS A SERIOUS BLOW TO THEIR EFFORTS TO DOMINATE DJIBOUTI.

5. IF EMBASSY MOGADISCIO HAS OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER CONVERSATION WITH THE NSS CHIEF, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE HIS VIEWS ON AHMED DINI, NOW HAVING MOVED THE FULL GAMUT FROM BEING A PROTEGE OF THE SOMALIS TO BECOMING THE POTENTIAL ETHIOPIAN CHAMPION OF THE AFARS. THE FIGURES ON AFAR TROUBLEMAKERS IN ADEN AT TWO APPEAR LOW FROM WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED FROM OTHER SOURCES. IN THE OPINION OF MOST OBSERVERS, IT IS PROBABLY THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SUBVERSION COORDINATED THROUGH THE AFAR ADEN CONNECTION WHICH

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IS THE MOST DISTURBING.

6. COMMENT. DJIBOUTI IS A FRAGILE MINISTATE LOCKED IN A VISE BETWEEN TWO UNCOMPROMISING NEIGHBORS. IT IS AN OPEN AREA FOR ANY ORGANIZED EFFORTS AT SUBVERSION. MOST PEOPLE IN DJIBOUTI ASSUME THAT THE SOMALIS PUSH THE HARDEST BUT ANY EFFORT TO CHANGE THE STATUS QUO WOULD RESULT IN THE ETHIOPIANS BECOMING NUMBER ONE.

CLARKE

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## Message Attributes

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